

Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 258683

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THE FOLLOWING REPEATS GENEVA 7127 ACTION SECSTATE

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TWO GENEVA 22 NOVEMBER 1974. QUOTE:

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 7127

DEPARTMENT PASS IMMEDIATE TO THE SECRETARY'S PARTY FOR

SONNENFELDT AND HARTMAN

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, CSCE, PARM, EGEN, SGEN, XG

SUBJECT: CSCE: STAGE II HIGHLIGHTS - NOVEMBER 18-22

1. SUMMARY. AN UNEXPECTED AND POTENTIALLY TROUBLESOME
IMBROGLIO OVER THE KEY BASKET III TEXT ON FAMILY REUNIFICA-
TION SEEMS ON THE WAY TO RESOLUTION NEXT WEEK. DIFFICUL-
TIES AROSE OVER FRG INSISTENCE ON INCLUSION OF A CLAUSE
RELATING THE LEVEL OF FEES CHARGED TO FAMILY SIZE, AND EQUALLY

STRONG SOVIET INSISTENCE THAT IF SUCH A PHRASE IS IN-
CLUDED, IT SHOULD ALSO RELATE FEES TO MATERIAL WEALTH OF
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PAGE 02 STATE 258683

APPLICANTS. THE SOVIETS CHARGED THE FRG WITH A LAST-MINUTE

BREACH OF FAITH OVER THIS ISSUE, BUT WE ARE INCLINED TO LAY THE BLAME TO FAULTY COMMUNICATIONS BETWEEN EC-9 DELEGATIONS AND THE SOVIETS WHICH LED TO SERIOUS MISUNDERSTANDINGS. SINCE RELATING EMIGRATION FEES TO FINANCIAL SITUATION OF APPLICANTS IS UNPALATABLE TO MOST WESTERN DELEGATIONS, THE ONLY WAY OUT SEEMED TO BE TO DROP BOTH CLAUSES, AND AT WEEK'S END EFFORTS WERE BEING MADE IN THIS DIRECTION. AT SAME TIME, CSCE CONTINUED TO EKE OUT LIMITED PROGRESS IN OTHER AREAS. IN BASKET I, SEVENTH PRINCIPLE (HUMAN RIGHTS) WAS PROVISIONALLY REGISTERED, AND WORK PROCEEDED ON PRINCIPLE OF SELF-DETERMINATION. IN BASKET III, TEXT ON CIRCULATION OF THE FINAL CSCE DOCUMENTS SEEMED TO BE AGREED, AND MAY BE ACCEPTED BY ALL DELEGATIONS NEXT WEEK. IN NATO CAUCUS, AGREEMENT WAS REACHED TO DRAFT A REVISED PAPER ON MARRIAGE BETWEEN NATIONALS OF DIFFERENCE STATES, WHICH WOULD CONSTITUTE A RESPONSE TO THE IDEAS ON THIS SUBJECT FLOATED LAST

WEEK BY THE SOVIETS. TAKEN TOGETHER, THESE EVENTS GAVE THE CONFERENCE AN ATMOSPHERE OF ACTIVITY, DESPITE THE FACT THAT CONCRETE PROGRESS WAS MEAGER. NEVERTHELESS, THE OLD EAST-WEST SUSPICIONS WERE EVIDENT, AND THE SOVIETS, WHO CLAIM THEY WANT TO COMPLETE WORK ON HUMAN CONTACTS BEFORE THE CHRISTMAS RECESS, USED CORRIDOR CONTACTS TO ACCUSE WESTERN DELEGATIONS OF CONTRIVING OBSTACLES TO CONFERENCE PROGRESS. END SUMMARY.

2. PRINCIPLES AND THEIR IMPLEMENTATIONS -- THE 7TH PRINCIPLE (HUMAN RIGHTS) WAS PROVISIONALLY REGISTERED ON NOV 20. PRINCIPLES SUBCOMMITTEE INCHED FORWARD ON EIGHTH PRINCIPLE (SELF-DETERMINATION) AND AGREED INFORMALLY ON TWO SENTENCES OF THIS TEXT. SPECIAL WORKING BODY ON IMPLEMENTATION DISCUSSED SWISS PROPOSAL ON PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES, BUT MADE NO PROGRESS.

3. MILITARY SECURITY -- SUBCOMMITTEE DEVOTED THE ENTIRE WEEK TO A FURTHER DEBATE OF THE PREAMBLE TO THE PROVISIONS ON MILITARY SECURITY. SLIGHT PROGRESS WAS MADE ON RE-ORDERING THE PARAGRPHS AND ON SOME MINOR POINTS OF SUBSTANCE. UK, WITH ALLIED SUPPORT, CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 STATE 258683

INTRODUCED A NEW PARAGRAPH CONCERNING THE DETERMINATION TO STRENGTHEN CONFIDENCE AND URGED THAT THIS IDEA BE PLACED IN EARLY PART OF THE PREAMBLE. WARSAW PACT THROUGHOUT THE DEBATE CONTINUED TO RESERVE ITS POSITION ON THE STRUCTURE OF THE DOCUMENT AND QUESTIONED THE NEED FOR ANY PREAMBLE FOR MILITARY SECURITY. MEANWHILE, YUGOSLAVIA PRIVATELY LOBBIED FOR ITS PROPOSAL CALLING FOR THE STRUCTURING OF THE EXCHANGE

OF INFORMATION BETWEEN OTHER DISARMAMENT CONFERENCES (READ MBFR) AND THOSE GOVERNMENTS WHICH DO NOT PARTICIPATE IN THEM. OUTSIDE FORMAL MEETINGS, NEUTRALS ARE REPORTED TO BE DEVELOPING A SOMEWHAT NEW APPROACH ON PRIOR NOTIFICATION OF MILITARY MOVEMENTS. WHILE CONTINUING TO ADVOCATE A MOVEMENTS CBM WITH IDENTICAL PARAMETERS TO THOSE FOR NOTIFICATION OF MANEUVERS, NEUTRALS ARE NOW THINKING IN TERMS OF NOTIFICATION ONLY OF NEW DEPLOYMENTS (MOVEMENTS) ACROSS FRONTIERS. NATO CAUCUS PLANS EARLY MEETING ON TACTICS FOR RESUMPTION OF SUBCOMMITTEE DEBATE ON MOVEMENTS WHICH IS LIKELY TO TAKE PLACE NEXT WEEK.

4. ECONOMICS, SCIENCE/TECHNOLOGY -- FULL COMMITTEE DISCUSSION OF ROMANIAN DRAFT ON NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER WAS HELD UP PENDING FURTHER DISCUSSION OF QUESTION OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. SUBCOMMITTEE ON COMMERCIAL EXCHANGES DEVOTED THREE SESSIONS TO PARAGRAPH ON SAFEGUARDS WITH NO PROGRESS. PARAGRAPH AS DRAFTED BY NINE DOES NOT SATISFY A NUMBER OF DELEGATIONS, INCLUDING US. MOST LIKELY COMPROMISE WILL BE OF BROAD, GENERAL CHARACTER. SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY SUBCOMMITTEE CONTINUED EFFORTS TO RESOLVE DEADLOCK OVER ROMANIAN PROPOSAL ON ACCESS TO SCIENTIFIC PROGRESS.

5. HUMAN CONTACTS -- HUMAN CONTACTS SUBCOMMITTEE IS STILL ON THE VERGE OF COMPLETING WORK ON FAMILY REUNIFICATION, AFTER AN INTENSIVE WEEK TRYING TO RESOLVE THE MISUNDERSTANDINGS WHICH HAVE PREVENTED FINAL AGREEMENT. THE SOVIETS AT ONE POINT WERE INTENSELY IRRITATED BY WHAT THEY TOOK TO BE A LAST-MINUTE FRG BREACH OF FAIR BUT WHICH WE ARE INCLINED TO ATTRIBUTE TO POOR COMMUNICATIONS BETWEEN EC-NINE DELEGATIONS

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PAGE 04 STATE 258683

AND SOVIETS. THE FRG DELEGATION CONTINUED TO INSIST ON A CLAUSE WHICH WOULD RELATE FEES CHARGED IN CONNECTION WITH APPLICATION FOR REUNIFICATION (E.G. FOR EXIT VISAS) TO "FAMILY SITUATION," I.E., THE SIZE OF THE APPLICANT'S FAMILY. FRG WANTS LOWER FEES FOR LARGER FAMILIES. THE SOVIETS INSISTED THAT, IF SUCH A CLAUSE IS INCLUDED, FEES MUST ALSO BE RELATED TO THE "MATERIAL SITUATION" OF THE APPLICANT, I.E. HIS MATERIAL WEALTH. THIS NOTION IS UNPALATABLE TO MANY WESTERN DELEGATIONS, SINCE IT WOULD GIVE TACIT APPROVAL TO HIGHER VISA COSTS FOR PERSONS WITH MORE MONEY. AT WEEK'S END THE ONLY WAY OUT SEEMED TO BE TO DROP BOTH PHRASES, AND THE NATO CAUCUS URGED THE FRG TO ACCEPT THIS SOLUTION. AT THE SAME TIME SOME PROGRESS WAS MADE IN DRAFTING ON FACILITATION OF TRAVEL AND INTRODUCTORY

LANGUAGE, WITH THE SOVIETS SHOWING MORE INITIATIVE AND FLEXIBILITY, PERHAPS BECAUSE THEIR BASKET III CHIEF, DUBININ, IS ABSENT. THE NATO CAUCUS AGREED TO DEVELOP A NEW VERSION OF THE TEXT ON MARRIAGE BETWEEN NATIONALS OF DIFFERENT STATES, AS A RESPONSE TO IDEAS FLOATED BY THE SOVIETS LAST WEEK.

6. INFORMATION, CULTURE, EDUCATION -- OTHER BASKET III SUBCOMMITTEES MADE SOME SLIGHT PROGRESS. IN INFORMATION, THE TEXT ON DISTRIBUTION OF THE FINAL CSCE DOCUMENTS SEEMED TO BE AGREED, AND HOPEFULLY WILL BE ACCEPTED BY ALL DELEGATIONS NEXT WEEK. DRAFTING ALSO PROCEEDED ON AUDIO-VISUAL INFORMATION AND EXCHANGES AND COOPERATION. SUBCOMMITTEE ON CULTURE REACHED INFORMAL AGREEMENT ON AN INTRODUCTION TO CONTROVERSIAL FRENCH TEXT ON ACCESS TO CULTURAL ACHIEVEMENTS. EDUCATION SUBCOMMITTEE MOVED CLOSER TO AGREEMENT ON FOREIGN LANGUAGE INSTRUCTION.

7. COMMENT: MOST ITEMS ON WHICH SLENDER PROGRESS WAS MADE THIS WEEK WERE IN THE NATURE OF LEFT-OVER BUSINESS, SINCE THEY SHOULD HAVE BEEN SETTLED SOME TIME AGO. WHILE THIS NEVERTHELESS SERVED TO KEEP ALIVE LAST WEEK'S FEELING OF ACTIVITY, THE FACT THAT RESOLUTION OF THESE ISSUES HAS TAKEN SO MUCH LONGER THAN EXPECTED ADDED TO THE GENERAL FEELING OF FRUSTRATION WHICH CHARACTERIZES THE CSCE AT THIS TIME. ALTHOUGH THEY ARE NOT GIVING UP ANY IMPORTANT

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 05 STATE 258683

SUBSTANTIVE POSITIONS, THE SOVIETS SEEM PREPARED TO MOVE AHEAD, AND CLAIM THEY WANT TO FINISH WORK ON BASKET II AND HUMAN CONTACTS BEFORE THE CHRISTMAS RECESS. AT THE SAME TIME MANY WESTERN DELEGATES ARE ANXIOUS TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE ABSENCE OF SOVIET BASKET III CHIEF DUBININ TO REGISTER SOME PROGRESS. MOREOVER, THERE IS A WIDELY ACCEPTED FEELING THAT THE CONFERENCE IS NOW ON A SCHEDULE LEADING TO A THIRD STAGE IN THE LATE SPRING OR EARLY SUMMER, AND THAT CONCRETE STEPS SHOULD BE TAKEN NOW IF SUCH A TIMETABLE IS TO BE ACHIEVED.

8. NEVERTHELESS, IT APPEARS THAT EACH SUCCESSIVE NEGOTIATING OBSTACLE IS MORE DIFFICULT TO OVERCOME, AND THAT A LACK OF AN OVERRIDING POLITICAL INTEREST IN CONCLUDING THE CONFERENCE IS RESULTING IN A GROWING INERTIA. THIS SITUATION HAS LED THE SOVIETS TO CONCLUDE THAT SOME MAJOR WESTERN COUNTRIES (READ FRG) ARE DELIBERATELY TRYING TO SLOW DOWN CONFERENCE PROGRESS, AND THEY HAVE CLEARLY EXPRESSED THESE SUSPICIONS IN THE CORRIDORS. DESPITE THE AWKWARDNESS OF THE LAST-MINUTE DIFFICULTIES OVER THE FAMILY REUNIFICATION TEXT, WE BELIEVE WESTERN DELEGATIONS NOW GENERALLY SHARE A DESIRE TO MOVE AHEAD, AND ARE NOT REPEATING NOT DELIVERABLY

SLOWING THINGS DOWN. OF COURSE, IT IS INEVITABLE THAT THE KEY ISSUES IN CSCE SHOULD ATTRACT CLOSER SCRUTINY, AT A HIGHER LEVEL, AS STAGE II NEGOTIATIONS APPROACH THEIR CONCLUSION, AND THIS PROCESS WILL REQUIRE MORE TIME AT EVERY STEP ALONG THE WAY. THESE REALITIES IMPLY THAT A SHARP CHANGE IN CONFERENCE ATMOSPHERE WILL BE REQUIRED IN THE NEAR FUTURE IF CSCE IS TO MOVE FORWARD MORE RAPIDLY. END COMMENT.ABRAMS

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